

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:NLPZDRAL:VSS

APPROVED BY P:PCHABIB

EUR:AAHARTMAN

S/S :SESTEINER

IO:SWLEWIS

S:RAHERNE

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 231695 TOSEC 270373

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN THROUGH HABIB

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: REVISED PRINCIPLES FOR A
CYPRUS SETTLEMENT (S/S NO.7619701)

REF: THE HAGUE 5104 (REPEATED TOSEC 270305)

1. THE PROBLEM: WE NEED YOUR APPROVAL FOR CHANGES IN
THE "REVISED PRINCIPLES" YOU HAVE GIVEN WALDHEIM, THE
BRITISH AND THE DUTCH. IF YOU APPROVE, I WILL ASK THE
DUTCH TO CIRCULATE THIS REVISED VERSION AMONG THE EC-9.
WE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO GIVE WALDHEIM THE REVISED LANGUAGE.

2. BACKGROUND: I HAD ANOTHER LONG DISCUSSION WITH THE
VISITING BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE CYPRUS EXPERT SEPTEMBER 17,
IN WHICH SHE CONVEYED THE PRELIMINARY UK THOUGHTS ON
POSSIBLE MODIFICATIONS OF THE REVISED PRINCIPLES. WE HAVE
WORKED OUT SLIGHT CHANGES WHICH I THINK ARE ACCEPTABLE.

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THE BRITISH ALSO ACCEPT THESE AT WORKING LEVEL. CHANGES

ALSO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POINTS MADE BY VAN DER STOEL IN HIS MESSAGE TO YOU (REFTEL). WE HAVE RECEIVED NO COMMENTS YET FROM WALDHEIM BUT EXPECT THEM EARLY IN WEEK.

3. DISCUSSION: VAN DER STOEL CHARACTERIZES YOUR PROPOSAL AS A "VERY USEFUL BASIS FOR A FURTHER APPROACH."

HE EMPHASIZES THE NEED FOR A COHERENT PACKAGE OF ARRANGEMENTS, AND REITERATES VIEW THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD COVER ALL ASPECTS OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, WHICH MUST BE WORKED OUT BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. HIS MAJOR POINT, WHICH THE BRITISH EXPERT SHARED, IS TO UNDERLINE THE NEED FOR SIMULTANEOUS WORK ON THE TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS. WE HAVE ADOPTED THIS CHANGE IN THE NEW DRAFT. WE AND THE BRITISH FELT OTHER VAN DER STOEL SUGGESTIONS WERE LESS HELPFUL, AND HAVE NOT BEEN INCORPORATED: A REFERENCE TO NON-ALIGNMENT OF CYPRUS; AN INITIAL CONCESSION BY THE TURKS ON VAROSHA; AND THE IDEA THAT THE PRINCIPLES SHOULD EMPHASIZE EXTERNAL DEFENSE AS ONE FUNCTION OF A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRINCIPLES AS REVISED, WITH COMMENTS ON CHANGES:

(1) THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WITH A VIEW TO ARRIVING AT A PACKAGE ARRANGEMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS.

-- NO CHANGE.

(2) THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE A TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND SELF-RESPECT OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES, RECOGNIZING THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES MUST BE ADJUSTED TO REDUCE THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY THE TURKISH SIDE TO PROVIDE FOR THE RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT DISPLACED PERSONS.

-- SUBSTITUTES WORDS "DISPLACED PERSONS" FOR WORD
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"REFUGEES" IN ORIGINAL VERSION. DELETES PHRASE "BY SOME MEASURE" RE TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENT, LEAVING THIS DELIBERATELY VAGUE.

(3) SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH AGREEMENT ON BOUNDARY RECTIFICATIONS THE PARTIES WILL AGREE ON CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL SYSTEM ON A BIZONAL BASIS WITH RELATIVELY AUTONOMOUS ZONES WHICH WILL

PROVIDE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN AFFAIRS, AND WILL AGREE ON THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

-- CALLS FOR SIMULTANEOUS AGREEMENT ON TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS, RATHER THAN HAVING ONE FOLLOW THE OTHER. THIS IMPLIES THE POSSIBILITY OF SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS, BUT EARLIER FORMULATION PROBABLY WOULD NOT

BE ACCEPTABLE TO TURKS. REVISED PARAGRAPH ALSO INTRODUCES NEED FOR AGREEMENT ON CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S POWERS AND FUNCTIONS.

(4) THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO NEGOTIATE THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

-- NO CHANGE.

(5) THE PARTIES WILL AGREE TO DISCUSS THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PERSONS CAN BE RESETTLED IN SAFETY, AND CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FREE CIRCULATION OF PERSONS ON THE ISLAND MAY BE ASSURED.

-- NO CHANGE, EXCEPT ORDER OF THIS PARAGRAPH AND PREVIOUS WERE REVERSED IN EARLIER VERSION. THIS CHANGE IN ORDER OF PARAGRAPHS PLACES MORE EMPHASIS ON NEED FOR EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES.

5. WE THINK THE NEXT STEP IS FOR ME TO GO BACK TO THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR HERE GIVING HIM OUR REACTIONS TO VAN DER STOEL'S SUGGESTIONS AND ASKING THE DUTCH TO CIRCULATE THIS SECRET

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NEW LANGUAGE TO THE OTHER EIGHT. WE ALSO THINK THE NEW LANGUAGE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO WALDHEIM WITH A REITERATION OF OUR INTEREST IN GETTING HIS VIEWS. WE ASSUME YOU WOULD ALSO WANT TO DISCUSS THE NEW LANGUAGE, AND POSSIBLE TACTICS FOR USE OF THE REVISED PRINCIPLES, WITH THE BRITISH DURING YOUR STOPOVER IN LONDON.

6. RECOMMENDATION:

-- THAT YOU APPROVE THIS REVISED LANGUAGE.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

-- THAT YOU APPROVE MY ASKING THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR TO CIRCULATE THIS TEXT AMONG THE EC-9 FOR COMMENTS.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

-- THAT YOU ALSO AUTHORIZE OUR GIVING THESE SLIGHT
REVISIONS TO WALDHEIM AND REITERATING OUR INTEREST IN
HIS COMMENTS.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

DRAFTED: EUR/SE:NLPAZDRAL. CLEARED: S: R. AHERNE
APPROVED: P:PCHABIB IO:SWLEWIS
ROBINSON

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